

EAST OF BYZANTIUM: SYRIA AND ARMENIA IN THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA** *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Supplement to *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
AArchArSyr *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*
AbhPreussAkad *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl.*
AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
AnalBoll *Analecta Bollandiana*
AnatSt *Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*
ArtB *Art Bulletin*
AttiVen *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti. Classe di Scienze morali e Lettere*
BEFAR *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
BJb *Bonner Jahrbücher*
BO *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
ByzArch *Byzantinisches Archiv*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CahArch *Cahiers Archéologiques*
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
ClMed *Classica et Mediaevalia*
CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
DACL *F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
DTC *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*
FRLANT *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
GBA *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*
GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (1897-)*
GRBS *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HAW *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, ed. I. Müller; new ed. by W. Otto et al*
HO *Handbuch der Orientalistik*
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin, 1873-)*
ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892-1916)*
JA *Journal Asiatique*
JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBLW *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*
JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
JThS *Journal of Theological Studies*
JWarb *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
LThK *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche, ed. J. Jöfer and K. Rahner, 2nd ed. (Freiburg i/B, 1957-65)*
MélUSJ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*
MemLinc *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Memorie*
NachrGött *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl.*
NTS *New Testament Studies*
OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OKS *Ostkirchliche Studien*
OrChr *Oriens Christianus*

- OrSyr* *L'Orient Syrien*
PG *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne
PO *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1903-)
ProcBrAc *Proceedings of the British Academy*
PS *Patrologia Syriaca*, ed. R. Graffin, 3 vols. (Paris, 1894-1926)
RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBibl *Revue Biblique*
REArm *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*
REG *Revue des Etudes Grecques*
RendLinc *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Rendiconti*
RHE *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
RhM *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RHR *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Annales du Musée Guimet*
ROChr *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
RSR *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*
RStO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SBE *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. T. M. Müller (Oxford, 1879-1910)
- SC* *Sources Chrétiennes. Collection dirigée par H. de Lubac et J. Daniélou*
SemKond *Seminarium Kondakovianum*
ST *Studi e Testi*
StPB *Studia Patristica et Byzantina*
TU *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1882-)
VChr *Vigilae Christianae*
VizVrem *Vizantijskij Vremennik*
ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZKircheng *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZWTh *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

THE CONTINUITY OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION IN THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA*

MARLIA MUNDELL MANGO

THE classical tradition in art and architecture may not, at first glance, appear a promising subject of discussion for northern Mesopotamia, whose history and culture might lead one to expect a dominant oriental legacy. Northern Mesopotamia became Greek and then Roman relatively late: it was never colonized before Alexander, and the Romans secured it from the Parthians only in A.D. 165—two hundred years later than Syria. Furthermore, its semitic kinglets continued to enjoy some autonomy under Seleucids, Parthians, and Romans in turn, just as its semitic Monophysite and Nestorian churches were to assert a degree of independence under the Byzantines and Sasanians. The vernacular and literary language was Syriac. Yet an examination of its monuments reveals that a classical tradition is in evidence from early times. Although the formative periods of this tradition can only be inferred, its continuity from the fourth through the seventh century, its transmission after A.D. 640 until the ninth century and beyond, and its revival in the twelfth century can be well demonstrated. Discussions of classicism in Asia can be complicated, and ours is made more so by the fact that after the fourth century the art radiating from the west to northern Mesopotamia had itself become imbued with oriental qualities which, in turn, are often traced back to Parthian and Roman Mesopotamia. Yet, side by side with a nonclassical

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For permission to publish their photographs I thank Dr. F. Baratte (The Louvre) (fig. 2); the Gertrude Bell Archive, The University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (fig. 20); C. Mango (fig. 29); Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins (fig. 30); Mr. G. House (fig. 24); Miss C. Ogilvie (figs. 9, 19); School of Oriental and African Studies, London University (fig. 6); Prof. I. Ševčenko (fig. 18); and Prof. G. Zarnecki (Courtauld Institute) (figs. 8, 15). The rest of the illustrations were taken by my husband and by myself.

figural art there was in the cities of Hatra, Palmyra, and Edessa a strong tradition of classical architectural sculpture, which survived the third century in northern Mesopotamia itself, while the nonclassical art disappeared from those parts to be absorbed into the mainstream art of the empire.

Although bound by two of the rivers of Paradise, the highlands, plains, and steppes of northern Mesopotamia contrast harshly with the low-lying gardens of Eden of south Mesopotamia. The wealth and importance of the cities of northern Mesopotamia derived from the trade routes between east and west, between China and the Mediterranean, which crossed it from earliest times. It was a bridge, but in Hellenistic times it became and remained a buffer and battleground between two superpowers.¹ Early Byzantine Mesopotamia (fig. 1), composed of the provinces of Osrhoëne and Mesopotamia,² was linked with the Mediterranean by the western crossings of the Euphrates. The centers of trade with the east were confirmed by treaty so that commerce with Persia was conducted at Nisibis, at Callinicum on the Euphrates, and at Dwin in Armenia; from the sixth century commerce with the Saracen Arabs was restricted to Dara.³ The wide range of historical sources in Syriac, Greek, and Latin provides a vivid picture of a society that was predominantly mercantile, monastic, and military.⁴ The level of private prosperity was high. Writing about the cities of Mesopotamia, the fourth-century author of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* said, "Nisibis and Edessa possess men who are best in all respects; they are well informed in business and good hunters. But especially they are rich and provided with every good; they receive in effect from the Persians that which they sell in all the land of the Romans and that which they buy there they sell in turn."⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus describes his visit in A.D. 354 to the annual fair at Batnae/Sarung in Osrhoëne, which was "filled with wealthy traders . . . [who] traffic in the wares sent from India to China."⁶ The numerous monks of northern Mesopotamia, like its bishops, could come from well-to-do families.⁷ Some were noted for their literacy,⁸ while the members of the Schools of Nisibis and Edessa were famous for their learning.⁹ As a principal arena of warfare between Rome and Persia, northern Mesopotamia was extremely well fortified and permanently garrisoned.¹⁰ Perhaps the most dramatic events to affect this society began to occur in the reign of Anastasius. Sixth-century northern Mesopotamia is well-known for its calamities: its natural disasters, wars, and religious controversies and persecutions. All, given the generosity and self-interest of the imperial government, attracted money into the area and often led, ultimately, to building activity: repairing cities, strengthening the *limes*, and founding and relocating monasteries.¹¹

The material remains known to us from this culture are not abundant. While a number of cities on the Euphrates have been excavated, little archeological work has been done in Mesopotamia proper. The excessive theorizing by Strzygowski concerning the role of northern Mesopotamia in what he saw as the transmission of "East Aryan" and Semitic cultures to the West was largely unhampered by archeological evidence.^{11a} Of the cities, only the excavation at Harran¹² and the sondages at Resh'aina/Theodosiopolis¹³ have yielded material relevant here; work has also been done at some smaller sites.¹⁴ Otherwise, in Osrhoëne we are indebted to the efforts of Segal for what we know of the monuments of Edessa and of the Tektek Mountains;¹⁵ in

the province of Mesopotamia we must still largely rely on the early survey publications of Preusser, Sarre, and Herzfeld, and, especially, Bell,¹⁶ except for more recent work done on the *limes*.¹⁷ It is clear that much awaits discovery in northern Mesopotamia. For instance, on one map from the beginning of this century, seventy-seven *harabe* (ruins) are marked in the area between Viranşehir (Constantina/Tella) and Mardin (Marde) (fig. 1), a distance of about 45 miles.¹⁸ Virtually none of these has been explored.¹⁹

SELEUCID, PARTHIAN, AND ROMAN PERIODS UP TO A.D. 297

Placing the meager archeological evidence against the historical background, one can deduce that the classical tradition washed over northern Mesopotamia in several successive waves, each wave having a certain force and carrying its own flotsam. Up to about A.D. 300 three such waves would correspond to the Seleucid, Parthian, and Roman dominations. From the first period, roughly 300 to 150 B.C., nothing apparently remains standing. This was the formative period of that mixed culture elaborated probably at Seleucia on the Tigris.²⁰ At Dura-Europos one can see this fusion in the Temple of Zeus Megistos (175-150 B.C.) where a Doric propylon is combined with a triple *iwan* sanctuary with barrel vaults and a large court, all executed in Hellenistic masonry.²¹ During the period of Parthian domination of northern Mesopotamia (141 B.C.-A.D. 165) this classicized orientalism (or oriental classicism) was displayed in the cut-stone tower tombs of the first century. That at Serrin dated A.D. 73 by a Syriac inscription is ornamented with an Ionic colonnade and projecting Parthian busts.²² The molding on the front of the stylobate of the colonnade is of a type found in Syria,²³ where the use of the Ionic order was characteristic of the Hellenistic period.²⁴ The tower tomb, found also in Cilicia and Syria, is itself an oriental building.²⁵ Although, unfortunately, no other type of building survives in northern Mesopotamia from the Parthian period, one can conjecture on the basis of the tower tombs of Serrin and Edessa, and the monuments of Sumatra²⁶ as well as those of Baalbek, Palmyra, and Hatra, that there was then in that area an ashlar architecture adorned in a classical or pseudo-classical manner with an occasional oriental flourish.²⁷ What may be a Parthian statue of a warrior has recently been found in a necropolis of Edessa.²⁸ In the shape and bearing of the figure (the face, unfortunately, is destroyed), the ornate hair style, and details of costume, it is in the tradition of the statues of Hatra.²⁹ What may prove a distinctive non-Hatran feature is the type of folds in the clothing.³⁰

A third wave of classicism probably came with the Romans in A.D. 165, carrying with it the Corinthian order (as happened in Syria)³¹ and other elements that persisted into the Christian period. Examples of fluted pilasters and colonnettes, cut and uncut acanthus capitals, ornamented moldings, inhabited scrolls, and reliefs of putti and winged victories, as well as ashlar masonry, can all be seen at Edessa (fig. 18),³² Nisibis,³³ in the Tektek Mountains,³⁴ and at Fafi in the Tur 'Abdin. A tower tomb at the latter site has been attributed to the second or third century on the basis of the lettering of its (metrical?) Greek inscription.³⁵ While the protomai on the façades are too damaged to consider here, the inhabited scroll of the entablature and the garland

frieze of the lintel (fig. 3) accord well in composition and style with third-century provincial Roman work.³⁶ In particular, the lintel could be compared to the relief at Darta'azze in northern Syria dated A.D. 235/6.³⁷ To this classical repertory can be added the very ornate vine scrolls and moldings which are a regular feature of northern Mesopotamian buildings from the fourth century on and which may have been introduced in 297, or earlier, as we shall consider presently.

As regards mosaic pavements (no wall paintings or mosaics survive here from the Roman period), the situation is more complex than for architecture and architectural sculpture. The greatest concentration of Roman mosaics in the nearby area found to date are those at Zeugma (Balkis), which was an important crossing of the Euphrates.³⁸ These range in date from the first half of the second century³⁹ (Zeugma was Roman from 65 B.C.) to either mid-third⁴⁰ or first half of the fourth century.⁴¹ In Mesopotamia Roman pavements have been found at Edessa,⁴² al Mas'udiye,⁴³ and at Nisibis.⁴⁴ All these feature personifications of provinces, hunting putti (fig. 2), marine scenes, and other staples of classical pavement decoration. Running parallel to this classical current there was at Edessa, as at Palmyra, a nonclassical one, Iranian or Semitic in character. In some instances the two currents mixed as is apparent when comparing two Mesopotamian pavements executed in the same year, A.D. 228. The first, that at al Mas'udiye, has a bilingual inscription but is, like those at Zeugma and Nisibis mentioned earlier, very Antiochene in iconography and style.⁴⁵ The second, at Edessa, displays a standard composition of Orpheus⁴⁶ that is curious in some details such as the bracelets on the putti and the screw handles of the *tabula ansata*. The style is linear and somewhat flat, particularly when compared with the treatment of the al Mas'udiye mosaic or that of another Orpheus pavement, the one, for instance, from Tarsus in Cilicia.⁴⁷

The nonclassical element in Edessene art is best seen in the funerary portraits in stone and mosaic, which have been found in the cemeteries outside the city. The style of these sculptures and mosaics, mostly dated or attributed to the third century,⁴⁸ merit closer study particularly in relation to contemporary paintings and sculpture at Palmyra and Dura-Europos.⁴⁹ The only pavement mosaics found at Palmyra⁵⁰ are completely Roman in execution, and Stern, in his recent study of these, which he attributes to craftsmen from Antioch,⁵¹ points out that tessellated pavements were a particularly Roman (or Greek) preserve and that with few exceptions they are not found outside periods and places of Roman domination. One of these exceptions would be Edessa, if its political status of semiautonomous monarchy until A.D. 242 were taken into account in explaining the formation of a non-Roman mosaic school. It is perhaps important to note also that all these Edessene pavements and the sculpture have been found in tombs where the work may be at a lower or at least a different standard than that of other pavements, as can be observed in Antioch.⁵² The border between provincial Roman art and that designated as the "Mesopotamian art" of Dura-Europos and Palmyra is sometimes unclear. The latter has been described as a Semitic blend of both Greek and Iranian elements, a product of the "cultural third force within the territories on either side of the political frontiers," in the words of Ward-Perkins.⁵³ This scholar has also distinguished between two types of frontality within this art: that common to

funerary art ("a convention of communication between subject and beholder that might belong to any age") and that introduced into narrative compositions where, in the classical tradition, figures would normally face each other.⁵⁴ Whether the latter type penetrated Edessene art can be decided only by new discoveries. It did not, for example, affect the Orpheus composition where the figures are in three-quarter view or profile. Similarly, the role Edessa may have played in the formation of this art remains to be evaluated. Traces of the Edessene pavement school have been found at Zeugma,⁵⁵ and its tenacity would seem proved by the date of A.D. 278 of the "funerary couch mosaic."⁵⁶ Soon thereafter it apparently faded as a local style. It should be noted that this nonclassical tradition in northern Mesopotamia was restricted to figural art and had little impact on architectural sculpture.

MONUMENTS FROM A.D. 297 to 640

Sculpture

In the fourth century we note the result of what may have been a fourth wave of classicism into northern Mesopotamia, which provided the fundamental decorative vocabulary of early Christian sculpture, that of the "very ornate vine scrolls and moldings" mentioned above. The earliest building to survive thus decorated is the baptistery of the cathedral of Nisibis dated A.D. 359.⁵⁷ Its exterior (figs. 8-9) and interior (fig. 17.1) moldings are densely ornamented in a late antique style not previously encountered in our survey of earlier monuments, and which includes bead-and-reel, vine and acanthus scrolls, dentils, egg-and-dart, and palmettes on continuous cornices and archivolts and on door frames, along with pairs of split palmettes.⁵⁸ The Corinthian capitals (fig. 19) are carved with feathery volutes and finely knotted garlands. The details are fairly delicate and the overall effect luxurious.

Very similar in technique to the vine scrolls at Nisibis (e.g., fig. 9 above lintel) are the scrolls that cover the early Christian columns (fig. 6) excavated in the Great Mosque at Ḥarran, which have been only briefly published.⁵⁹ These limestone columns, which had wind-blown acanthus leaves at their base (a Hellenistic feature),⁶⁰ continue a tradition of that type of column or pilaster best known in the Temple of Hadrian (A.D. 123-139) at Cyzicus (fig. 5).⁶¹ At the top of one nearly complete column at Ḥarran, however, there is a cross in medallion with a "chi rho" monogram beneath it;⁶² both symbols are an integral part of the decoration. The columns adorned the twelfth-century extension of the mosque at Ḥarran, but their original provenance may have been Edessa. In 1183, according to the copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣaḥāḥ al Din completely dismantled the church of St. Sophia at Edessa and transported its stones up to the citadel and also to the Great Mosque at Ḥarran whose arcaded façade, incorporating earlier sculpture, was finished by 1184.⁶³ St. Sophia had been rebuilt as the Melkite cathedral of Edessa after the flood of 525.⁶⁴ Some fragments of moldings found in the Edessa citadel are of a sixth-century type (discussed below) and may have derived from this church; the vine-covered columns and some garlanded acanthus capitals among the spolia reused at Ḥarran may be from the same source. Some of the capitals bear

close resemblance to sixth-century examples at Rusafa.⁶⁵ The vine-covered columns, however, have a closer stylistic affinity to work both in the baptistery at Nisibis of 359 and that at Palmyra of 297 (see below). They may therefore be placed in this earlier period and I suggest that they were carved for the cathedral of Edessa built 313-320⁶⁶ (or, perhaps, for its baptistery of 369) and reused (as chancel or ciborium columns?) in its rebuilding as St. Sophia 525.⁶⁷

The closest parallels for this ornate early Christian sculpture of northern Mesopotamia may be sought in the "baroque" architecture of Baalbek and Palmyra,⁶⁸ and in particular at the latter site where vine scrolls very similar to those at Nisibis (fig. 9) and Harran/Edessa (fig. 6) ornament a tomb ceiling,⁶⁹ the Grave Temple,⁷⁰ and door frames of the Temple of the Standards of the Camp of Diocletian (fig. 17.1).⁷¹ This last monument is dated by inscription to A.D. 297 although how much work can be ascribed to that date is a matter of conjecture.⁷² The feathery volutes of the Nisibis capitals (fig. 19) also find a rudimentary counterpart in the same Camp.⁷³ Certain door frames at Heliaramia (Qasr el Heir el Gharbi) (fig. 7), 60 kilometers southwest of Palmyra (fig. 1), are undoubtedly contemporary with those of the Temple of the Standards at Palmyra. Although Schlumberger considered them, as he did those at Palmyra, to be earlier, other scholars have taken them as part of the work done in 297 on Diocletian's *limes*,⁷⁴ a position supported, I think, by the evidence for stylistic continuity in sculpture after A.D. 300 at Nisibis and Harran/Edessa.

It has been observed that the architectural sculpture of Palmyra, executed between the early first century and 300, reveals an inner consistency of development as regards motifs and style;⁷⁵ moreover, compared with the local funerary sculpture, it betrays imported craftsmanship.⁷⁶ Whether these two points can be explained in terms of a school of sculpture established nearby, perhaps in northern Mesopotamia,⁷⁷ is now impossible to say. We have as yet no other evidence for this dense type of sculpture—either the vine scrolls or the heavily ornamented moldings—in northern Mesopotamia before 300. The classical carving of the third-century rock-cut tombs at Edessa is relatively simple in style⁷⁸ or has fewer and different motifs from those at Nisibis described previously.⁷⁹ An early connection in sculpture between Osrhoëne and Syria may be documented, however, by several capitals (fig. 4) found at Harran,⁸⁰ which continue the convention of notched acanthus ribs, a Hellenistic feature until now known in the east exclusively at Ai Konoum in Afghanistan (early second century B.C.) and in the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek (A.D. first century).⁸¹ The second city of northern Mesopotamia that may have had an important school of sculpture is Nisibis, where remains, unfortunately, have been virtually neglected, aside from those of the baptistery. In addition to the latter and the marine pavement mentioned above (see note 44), there is part of a colonnade still standing which has Corinthian capitals deserving of further study.⁸² The only other sculptured monument in the province of Mesopotamia is the third-century tower tomb at Fafi, discussed above, where there is nothing to be linked directly to work of either the third century at Palmyra or the fourth century at Nisibis, unless the uncut acanthus capitals prove on closer examination to be similar to those of the Palmyrene tetrapylon.⁸³

The likelihood of a flourishing school of sculpture based at Palmyra after its destruc-

tion in 272 is not great. Thereafter the city was largely a military headquarters, although it became a bishopric.⁸⁴ The great funerary art stops in 272,⁸⁵ as the prosperous merchant class moved elsewhere. In fact, in 297 Diocletian designated Nisibis as the principal trading center between Rome and Persia (the privilege until recently enjoyed by Palmyra itself), while making it at the same time the military headquarters of the Roman eastern frontier.⁸⁶ It is therefore extremely likely that Palmyrene merchants had already, in some numbers at least, transferred their trade to Nisibis (which had close commercial ties with Edessa) after 272,⁸⁷ and, furthermore, that in 297 the same craftsmen were at work for Diocletian at Palmyra, Heliaramia (Qaṣr el Ḥeir), and Nisibis (perhaps on the palace used for imperial visits that is mentioned by Ammianus).⁸⁸ Arguing in favor of these two propositions is the continuity of taste and craftsmanship displayed sixty odd years later in the baptistery of Nisibis (359) (and undoubtedly also in the cathedral itself, built 313-320), and in the columns (fig. 6) found at Ḥarran and carved, perhaps, for the cathedral of Edessa (313-323) or its baptistery (369). Whether the sculpture was introduced into northern Mesopotamia in 272 or 297 or earlier is a purely theoretical matter at present. But the dissemination of this sculpture throughout northern Mesopotamia after the fourth century can be fairly well documented.

Right up to the Persian and Arab conquests there continued in northern Mesopotamia a strong taste for the grape vine and for classicizing elements such as strongly profiled door moldings and relieving arches (fig. 27),⁸⁹ column pedestals,⁹⁰ inhabited scrolls,⁹¹ and ornamented niches (fig. 11),⁹² as well as for the Corinthian capitals and at least three groups of ornament employed in the baptistery at Nisibis. The first and best known set of these ornaments⁹³ is that which adorned its continuous interior molding,⁹⁴ and which is next found embellishing the basilica at Martyropolis (Silvan) (fig. 20), which is probably the cathedral that Bishop Marutha built (410-420) and now is destroyed.⁹⁵ The fine carving and composition of the ornament on the moldings—which includes flutes, egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel, and vine scrolls—and of the garlanded acanthus capitals correspond very closely to the work done at Nisibis forty to fifty years earlier. Other extant examples of this type of decoration date to the late fifth and early sixth century, with those at Dara (for the frieze, see fig. 17.5) probably being contemporary with the construction of the city by Anastasius, A.D. 505-507 or soon thereafter.⁹⁶ The work at Dara was overseen by the clergy of Amida, where related sculpture survives in the church of the Virgin,⁹⁷ and reused in the Great Mosque (figs. 15, 17.7).⁹⁸ Further examples exist, notably in the cities of Edessa (possibly from the church of St. Sophia built after 525)⁹⁹ and, south of the Euphrates, Rusafa (on several monuments including the tetraconch cathedral of 520; for a frieze, see fig. 17.6.)¹⁰⁰ This sculpture appears also in the Ṭur ʿAbdin at Ḥaḥ in what may be a bishop's church subject to, and about contemporary with, the cathedral at Dara.¹⁰¹ The only set of this ornament still intact is preserved in Deir Zaʿfaran (the "Saffron Monastery") outside Mardin (fig. 11).¹⁰² Although among the sixth-century examples the vines can be simplified and the carving rigid and sometimes flat, what is striking about this group, covering the period 359 to 530, is its consistency in, for example, the order of the ornaments on the moldings,¹⁰³ the conservative aspect of the acanthus capitals

which always accompany them (figs. 11, 15, 18-21), and the details of their garlands. This consistency argues for a strongly established local school of sculpture, where a classical tradition was upheld even in the face of outside influences such as those brought by the workers "from the east to the west"¹⁰⁴ who built Dara for Anastasius. Traces of these craftsmen from Syria and further west can be seen also at Deir Za^cfarān¹⁰⁵ and at Dara where there are, in addition to the local acanthus capitals (fig. 21), two impost capitals and a wind-blown acanthus capital (fig. 22) that is very similar to capitals in Ravenna.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the continuity of the more classical tradition is proved by the churches of the late seventh and eighth centuries which we shall consider below.

A second type of sixth-century ornament traceable to Nisibis is found at Şalaḥ in the Tur ^cAbdin (fig. 31).¹⁰⁷ There, the monastery church of Jacob the Hermit has, in addition to garlanded uncut acanthus capitals, two paneled pilasters (figs. 10, 17.3, 27) adorned with a vine scroll which is interlaced in a complicated fashion and more realistically rendered than are the simplified undulating vines on the friezes of Dara, Rusafa, and related monuments. Although the monastery was founded before the death of Jacob in 421, no exact date has been advanced for the Şalaḥ church. No other sculpture closely related to it has yet been found in the area, but it probably represents the work of a second school of (sixth-century?) sculptors active in Byzantine Mesopotamia.¹⁰⁸

Turning to Persian northern Mesopotamia we see a parallel continuity in architectural sculpture (fig. 17.4) in the Nestorian monastery built about 571 by Abraham of Kashkar some 30 miles northeast of Nisibis.¹⁰⁹ The apse archivolt is covered with a set of motifs that differ from those of Byzantine Mesopotamia. These include a series of split palmettes which copy closely those that decorate door frames in the Nisibis baptistery.¹¹⁰ The pair of two-zoned capitals (fig. 23) surviving from the monastery¹¹¹ have in their upper zones large naked angels holding wreaths which encircle a cross in one case and a male bust in the other. The leaves in the lower zone are very well executed, but they and the other motifs betray a school of sculptors distinct from those active in Byzantine Mesopotamia. One could say, therefore, that the late sixth-century carvings at Mār Abraham represent the classical tradition in sculpture as preserved in Persian Nisibis, a tradition that survived the removal of the population of that city in 363, just four years after the completion of the baptistery.

In sum, one can make several generalizations concerning the architectural sculpture of northern Mesopotamia in the early Christian period. Although at least three schools of carving have been noted, including one whose work is traced over perhaps two hundred years, there is still a certain homogeneity apparent (fig. 17). The order of decoration is largely Corinthian: with the exception of the intrusions noted at Dara, the capitals are almost uniformly cut and uncut acanthus; neither the antique Ionic nor the Byzantine impost capital made lasting inroads there. The antique moldings differ in their composition from contemporary examples at Constantinople and Ravenna,¹¹² and the sculpture repertory is on the whole distinct in style and content from that of Syria.¹¹³ Finally, Byzantine Mesopotamia found itself the preserver of a

classical tradition at the time when more oriental fashions prevailed at Constantinople,¹¹⁴ and Nisibis likewise produced sculpture, equally conservative, that had little in common with current Sasanian taste.

Architecture

Confronted with the sustained classicism of its early Christian sculpture one naturally poses the question of whether northern Mesopotamia was simply a cultural backwater at this time. It was not. The most luxurious trade goods and the best *limes* engineers passed through northern Mesopotamia between the third and seventh centuries. Constantius, Anastasius, Justinian, and Heraclius all built in northern Mesopotamia. Northern Mesopotamians traveled widely: to Antioch, Berytus, and Alexandria to be educated; to Jerusalem on pilgrimage; persecuted Monophysites went in exile to Alexandria and Constantinople; scribes worked in Syria and Constantinople; and to Persia went large groups of captives (sometimes to return) and individual missionaries. Furthermore, the results of exterior contacts can be seen in the types of architectural plans, pavements, wall mosaics, metalwork, and manuscript illuminations to be found there, where the current fashions of the mainstream art of the empire were locally deployed on a par with any Byzantine metropolitan effort.

Among the city churches of northern Mesopotamia, the large columnar basilica at Martyropolis (fig. 20) can be compared with many others of the late fourth and early fifth centuries,¹¹⁵ and the aisled tetraconch church of Amida has been linked by Kleinbauer with other late fifth and early sixth-century episcopal churches of the Patriarchate of Antioch.¹¹⁶ Churches of both city (figs. 8, 20) and countryside (fig. 31) were of ashlar masonry as in Syria, Cilicia, and other eastern provinces. A Mesopotamia element in the architecture is found in the local type of church of transverse barrel-vaulted nave and closed sanctuary rooms known previously only in sixth(?) century (and later) monasteries such as those at Şalah (figs. 27, 31), Qarṭamin (512), and Qillith, whence its usual designations as "monastic."¹¹⁷ It has recently been discovered also at an outpost, now called Ambar, one mile outside the walls of Dara. This church probably dates to the foundation of the city, 505-507,¹¹⁸ and would be an instance, parallel to that of the ornate sculpture considered above, where the builders working on an imperial project adopted local elements. In the case of the sculpture (figs. 17.5, 21), which most likely decorated the cathedral inside Dara, the local element was of classical heritage and in the case of the Ambar church plan, outside Dara, it was of the Mesopotamian or nonclassical heritage. In this second example, however, it should be noted that Roman building methods were applied (e.g., in the vaulting). The reverse may be the case as regards the second type of northern Mesopotamian local church, that found principally in villages and hence known as "parochial."¹¹⁹ Here the hall church known throughout the Roman Empire has been transformed by the addition of arcades built against the interior lateral walls. It has been suggested that, although they now bear barrel vaults, initially the arcades were introduced as an expedient (perhaps borrowed from the mural arcades of the "monastic" church) to support roofs of heavy oak, the timber locally available.¹²⁰ Other local features of these churches are

the entrances confined to the south side and the oratories (beit šlotha) that stand south of them.¹²¹ In sum, although in the cities (judging from Martyropolis, Amida, and Constantina/Tella, on which, see below) Byzantine churches of a classical type were built,¹²² in the countryside local forces were at work either in adopting a nonclassical type of church (the "monastic") or in adapting a classical type (the trabeated hall church) to their individual needs (and obtaining the "parochial" church). All, however, resembled the city churches in their decoration.

Pavements

The few early Christian pavements recovered in northern Mesopotamia find their counterparts in other Byzantine work of the period. There is nothing comparable to the local quality of many Edessene pavements of the third century. Three later pavements from that city which bear animal decoration may date to the fifth century. The first is an inhabited scroll border in a tomb which closely corresponds to a scroll in the basilica at Mopsuestia (Missis) in Cilicia (which has been dated variously fourth to sixth century)¹²³ and also to a scroll in the aisled tetraconch (?) at Akdeğirmen Hüyük near the Euphrates.¹²⁴ Little remains of the main field of the Edessa pavement, however, and what is left suggests a pagan theme.¹²⁵ A pavement fragment found in a tomb and now in the museum (fig. 29) has a bird upon a white field "sown" with red hearts, very similar to one found at Dibsi Faraj.¹²⁶ This type of mosaic background is characteristic of the fifth and sixth centuries,¹²⁷ as is the style of the bird.¹²⁸ A third pavement from Edessa, still unpublished, is the only one recovered from within the city itself.¹²⁹ The mosaic includes part of an animal procession (of which only four animals remain) and part of a large border of plain and guilloche bands forming swastikas and enclosing panels with birds. The procession belongs to a group of fifth- and sixth-century pavements in Syria and Cilicia,¹³⁰ where our border is found used in the late fourth and fifth centuries.¹³¹ A fourth tessellated pavement, also unpublished and still only partially examined, is in the baptistery of Deir Zaʿfaran outside Mardin. The ornamental motifs there include a hexagonal border and a diagonal grid pattern filled with rosettes; both are common individually and combined in late pavements at Antioch.¹³² Part of a pavement of extreme simplicity and perhaps of the fifth century was encountered in a sondage at Reshʿaina/Theodosiopolis.¹³³

The fashion for *opus sectile* pavements, which had been noted to increase in the sixth century, is attested at Dara (505-518)¹³⁴ and at the monastery near Qarṭamin (512). The former, only a small section of which is visible in an open courtyard, is composed of panels of hexagonal designs separated by narrow slabs of marble. This scheme is found in Bath F at Antioch, restored in 537/8.¹³⁵ The Qarṭamin pavement is much more eccentric and colorful, although it is arranged around a well-known motif, that of the spiraling disc.¹³⁶ The latter is surrounded by cross patterns fashioned of very small pieces of marble. One diamond contains thirteen subdivisions. A similar treatment is seen in a pavement at Apamea.¹³⁷

Wall Decoration

Most of what is known of the wall decoration of the early Christian churches of northern Mesopotamia is typical of the period in general. The walls of St. Sophia of Edessa were revetted with Proconesian (?) marble,¹³⁸ and until this century, marble revetment was visible on the apse wall of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Amida,¹³⁹ as were clamp holes at Martyropolis (fig. 20). The Qarṭamin monastery is said to have had marble revetment in the sanctuary and fragments of this may have been used to patch the pavement there.¹⁴⁰ No wall paintings survive in northern Mesopotamia and the unique extant wall mosaic adorns this same sanctuary (fig. 30). It is signed in Greek and is certainly comparable to other early Christian mosaics in its vine trellis and border motifs, in its style, and in its technique (e.g., angled gold background tesserae).¹⁴¹ The unusual compositions which fill the lateral walls—ciboria standing over altars with flanking trees—have been discussed in relation to an “aniconic” trend notable in parts of the eastern provinces which has been explained occasionally, and probably erroneously, in terms of a Monophysite iconoclasm.¹⁴² Undoubtedly, other churches of northern Mesopotamia were adorned with wall mosaics as were the church of St. Sophia at Edessa (“golden mosaic”)¹⁴³ and possibly the basilica at Martyropolis (fig. 20).¹⁴⁴ A more local form of mural decoration, although found also in a few churches in Thrace, Lycia, and Cappadocia, consisted in a large cross cut in relief on the apse conch of the sanctuary. This may first appear here in the church of St. Saba (Mār Sovo) at Ḥaḥ in the Ṭur ʿAbdin.¹⁴⁵ The carvings of the cornice, archivolt, and capitals of this apse seem contemporaneous with those of Dara (figs. 17.5, 21) and would therefore date the church to the early sixth century. The same crosses filled the conches of the Nestorian church of Abraham of Kashkar (571) in Persian northern Mesopotamia,¹⁴⁶ cited above, as well as those of later village churches and oratories of the Ṭur ʿAbdin of the seventh, eighth, and tenth centuries.¹⁴⁷

Metalware

There is written evidence for both the production and abundance of metalware in northern Mesopotamia. In the Roman period (the third century), bronze coins were produced in mints at Edessa, Ḥarran, Nisibis, and Reshʿaina,¹⁴⁸ and Diocletian established a large imperial armament factory at Edessa.¹⁴⁹ As in Constantinople and in other provinces, both the church and laymen of this region possessed large quantities of gold and silver right up to the Arab conquest.¹⁵⁰ Here also, large quantities were handed over in ransoms to the Persians,¹⁵¹ and yet more was probably buried in this region, which was a perpetual battlefield. The activities of Symeon of the Olives, the Mesopotamia entrepreneur and builder of 700, were reputedly launched with a treasure he discovered by the fort of Qalʿat Hatem Tai in the Ṭur ʿAbdin.¹⁵² Unfortunately, in stark contrast to what we know from texts, the solitary recovery in northern Mesopotamia from the early Christian period is a bronze bucket. (The bronze censers associated with this area may be later.)¹⁵³ The bucket was found between Amida and Mardin at the small fortified site of Kale-i Zarzevan and is now in the Istanbul

Museum. It is decorated with crosses under an arcade. Its niello inlaid Greek inscription, reading 'Υπὲρ εὐχῆς καὶ σωτηρίας Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ. κύριος φυλάξει σαι (sic) (In fulfillment of a vow and for the salvation of Antipatros and of all his household. May the Lord guard you),¹⁵⁴ corresponds exactly in its opening formulas and its letter forms to the dedicatory inscriptions on sixth- to seventh-century silver.¹⁵⁵ The bucket was undoubtedly a donation by Antipatros to his church. In form, technique, and motifs this bucket has been linked to a group of similar vessels incised with mythological and hunting scenes, whose place of manufacture is still being discussed.¹⁵⁶ It has recently been suggested¹⁵⁷ that the Zarzevan bucket may have been manufactured in nearby Amida, and it is interesting to note in this connection the existence of copper mines in the general vicinity of that city, three to the northwest¹⁵⁸ and one to the south, at Tell Besmai.¹⁵⁹ Concerning other buckets in this group, it could further be noted that the fourth-century *Expositio*, quoted above, singles out hunting as an outstanding activity in northern Mesopotamia, where, in fact, beasts for the circus and amphitheater were trapped.¹⁶⁰

Manuscripts

The eighty-odd colophons surviving in Syriac manuscripts from the period (i.e., those dated between A.D. 411 and 640) imply that Edessa enjoyed a high reputation in manuscript production both at home and abroad.¹⁶¹ People traveled far to buy a manuscript in Edessa.¹⁶² It was to this city that Chosroes II sent for books for his Christian wife's monastery.¹⁶³ Edessene scribes identify themselves as such in manuscripts written in Edessa itself, on the Euphrates, and in places around Apamea. Other Mesopotamian centers of manuscript production were Amida and Nisibis.¹⁶⁴ Although the Rabula Gospels are often attributed to northern Mesopotamia, there is independent documentary evidence that Beth Zagba where the manuscript was executed may be sought instead in Syria, in the area near Riḥa, northeast of Apamea.¹⁶⁵ Other illuminated manuscripts associated with northern Mesopotamia—the Paris Bible¹⁶⁶ and the Paris¹⁶⁷ and Diyarbakir¹⁶⁸ Gospels—display the type of late antique painting that was universally popular.¹⁶⁹ The birds of the Paris Gospels rival in the delicacy of their brushwork those of the Vienna Dioscorides,¹⁷⁰ to whose gilded backgrounds the Paris Bible offers a comparison.¹⁷¹ The latter manuscript could perhaps be assigned to Persian Mesopotamia on the grounds of its Nestorian text.¹⁷² Although found in Séert in northern Iraq,¹⁷³ it may well have been executed in Nisibis, the center of Nestorian learning and manuscript production and, as manifested in a satellite institution, the monastery of Abraham of Kashkar, a center which conserved a classical tradition in sculpture.

TRANSMISSION OF A CLASSICAL TRADITION AFTER A.D. 640

Concerning the transmission of the classicizing sculpture of early Christian northern Mesopotamia, I would prefer to leave aside the problem of fifth- to sixth-century

masons from this area working in northern Syria and vice versa, as studied to some extent at sites such as Qal'at Seman and Deir Za'faran,¹⁷⁴ and to consider very briefly, instead, the question of transmission after the Arab conquest. The latter can be demonstrated to some extent in four areas: locally within the Christian community; to the Umayyads; to the Armenians; and to the Inalids and Ayyubids.

Christian Northern Mesopotamia

For the first transmission, the Tur 'Abdin preserves a number of churches covering the period 640 to 800, with several dated examples falling in the eighth century.¹⁷⁵ Much of the antique sculptural heritage can be seen concentrated in the mid to late seventh-century church of the Virgin at Ḥaḥ (fig. 26), which has exterior pilasters, ornamented niches inside and out, column pedestals, Corinthian capitals, and decorated moldings.¹⁷⁶ The old formulas reappear somewhat transformed here and in a series of related buildings at Arnas (fig. 17.8), Kefr Zeh (fig. 17.9), Ḥabsenas (700-734; fig. 17.10) and the monastery of the Cross.¹⁷⁷ At this last place, at Ḥaḥ, and at Arnas the interlaced vine scroll examined already at Ṣalaḥ (figs. 10, 17.3) now has an abstract, almost arabesque form (fig. 17.8). It is completely undercut and the alternating grapes and leaves are reduced to a series of tiny trefoils. A new geometric ornament of overlapping circles and diamonds has been added to the repertory,¹⁷⁸ and the eggs and flutes have been dropped. The cut Corinthian capitals (fig. 24) are simplified and dessicated, the garlands are reduced to loops at the corners, and plaiting is added above and below. Elsewhere in northern Mesopotamia the classical tradition of plain profiled moldings and uncut acanthus capitals, seen for instance at Ṣalaḥ (fig. 27), persisted in eighth-century buildings such as two small contemporary churches at Ḥaḥ, one dated 740 (figs. 12-13, 28), and in the church and oratory at Heshterek, one or both dated 772.¹⁷⁹

The Umayyads

The links between the seventh- and eighth-century Christian art of northern Mesopotamia and Umayyad art have not yet been sufficiently analyzed, although introductory observations have been made, notably by Bell.¹⁸⁰ The only fruitful area of comparison now is that of sculpture. Certain motifs popular in the early Christian period both in northern Mesopotamia and elsewhere—rows of upright acanthus leaves, bead-and-reel, and crenelated dentils, for example—are seen passed on, as at Mshatta.¹⁸¹ What is of more immediate relevance here, perhaps, is the presence at Mshatta of rows of split palmetes, scaled bands, and deeply undercut vine scrolls,¹⁸² which were contemporaneously in use in northern Mesopotamia.¹⁸³ Likewise the appearance of a particular winged palmette ornament at Arnas¹⁸⁴ and Ḥaḥ (fig. 13) might be traced to influences manifested at Mshatta and eṭ-Ṭuba.¹⁸⁵ Reenforcing the art historical case for such contacts is the extensive series of Syriac inscriptions in a Lebanese quarry. These record that Christian masons from northern Mesopotamia worked for the Caliph

Walid I about A.D. 714 at Kamed,¹⁸⁶ at about 17 kilometers from ʿAnjar, whose construction has consequently been attributed to him¹⁸⁷ and where there are some striking parallels (fig. 25) to capitals in the mid to late seventh-century church at Ḥaḥ (fig. 24).

The Armenians

To discussions of architectural and sculptural transmissions between northern Mesopotamia and Armenia conducted by Strzygowski¹⁸⁸ and Kleinbauer¹⁸⁹ I would add the massive building at Viranşehir (Constantina/Tella)¹⁹⁰ which offers a number of similarities to the church of Zwartʿnocʿ at Vaḫaršapat¹⁹¹ with regard to dimensions, layout, and sculpture.¹⁹² A date of 622 for the Constantina “octagon” has recently been suggested,¹⁹³ which would bring it close in date to the Armenian church of 641-661 and which would make it one of the last large-scale Christian constructions in northern Mesopotamia in the tradition of classical architecture.

Twelfth-Century Classical Revival

The last transmission to be mentioned here is illustrated by the Great Mosques of Amida and Ḥarran, where elaborate columnar façades incorporate both genuine relics of late antique sculpture and twelfth-century imitations. In the case of Amida, the materials, from an unknown building of the fifth to seventh century, were reused in 1116/7-1124/5 in the west façade of the courtyard (figs. 15 excluding inscription, 17.7) and then copied in 1163/4 on the east façade (figs. 16 excluding capital and column, 17.11).¹⁹⁴ One can therefore judge the results: the topmost row of leaves, the egg-and-dart, and the flutes have all become arabesque scrolls, the modillions are now projecting leaves, and the split palmettes are transformed into winged palmettes. Otherwise, the bead-and-reel, dentils, and vine scrolls are respected. The sculpture at Ḥarran is more heterogeneous and awaits classification and study. As related above, stones from St. Sophia (built 525) at Edessa were reused in 1183 in the north façade of the mosque at Ḥarran and moldings similar to those found in the Edessa citadel may have been among the spolia which included columns (fig. 6) and capitals. If, however, it was not the ornament of St. Sophia which provided models for the twelfth-century voussoirs at Ḥarran (figs. 14, 17.2; the capitals there, e.g., fig. 4, are more problematical as to their date), some other examples of late antique sculpture were undoubtedly available at the time. Unlike the Amida sculpture (fig. 16), that at Ḥarran shown here in figure 14 preserves vine scroll, eggs, modillions, flutes, lead-and-dart, and bead-and-reel, but the late classical spirit has been violated by the proportions (the vine scroll and eggs are equal) and by exotic scrolls and motifs, which on other fragments at Ḥarran are even more prevalent.

To sum up, contrary to what its history and literary culture might lead one to expect, northern Mesopotamia was receptive to classical influences in its art and architecture, which are already apparent in the first century A.D. and which are sometimes mixed with, or adjacent to, elements of nonclassical influence. This duality persisted

until 300. The monuments of the second and third centuries indicate that side by side with sculptors who produced Greco-Roman forms of architectural decoration there worked other craftsmen who specialized in a more oriental type of funerary sculpture known in greater abundance at Palmyra. Similarly, the local school of mosaists at Edessa was influenced by both Antioch and the "Mesopotamian" painting style of Palmyra and Dura-Europos. By A.D. 300 the nonclassical elements largely disappeared from the art, as we know it, of northern Mesopotamia. Vestiges of ancient Mesopotamia remained in the transverse barrel-vaulted churches of the countryside. Otherwise the art and architecture, particularly as seen in the cities, kept pace with that of the rest of the empire, as would be expected in an area that was both a commercial bridge between East and West and an important military frontier. In the one area of architectural sculpture, northern Mesopotamia proved itself a better guardian of the classical tradition than did Constantinople. We have speculated that the particular type of late antique moldings and acanthus capitals found at Nisibis in 359 may have been either introduced into northern Mesopotamia from Palmyra in 272 or 297, or that they may have originated in northern Mesopotamia. Once established, this sculpture style, more ornate than earlier classical work known at Edessa and Fafi, continued throughout the early Christian period, remaining, on the respective sides of the frontier, independent of both contemporary Byzantine and Sasanian influences. After the Arab conquest this classical tradition was maintained by the Christians of northern Mesopotamia, and its impact on the makeup of Umayyad, Armenian, and twelfth-century art remains to be fully explored.

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1. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), 215-23; M. R. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1929), 97 ff.; L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris, 1962), 190-92.

2. Jones, *Cities*, 542: Osroëne, capital Edessa, table XXXI; Mesopotamia, capital Amida, table XXXII; South Mesopotamia, capital Dara, was created A.D. 512 (see E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieurs au VI^e siècle* [Louvain, 1951], 103 ff. for the date); Armenia IV, capital Martyropolis, was created 536, see Jones, *Cities*, 221. Nisibis was, from A.D. 363 capital of the Persian province of Beth 'Arabaye; for its ecclesiastical administration, see J. Fiey, *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, CSCO, CCCLXXXVIII, Subsidia, 54 (Louvain, 1977), 16-193.

3. E. Stein, *L'Histoire de Bas Empire*, II (Paris, 1949), 519 ff.

4. See especially J. B. Segal, "Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam," *ProcBrAc*, 41 (1955), 109-39, and the bibliography in *idem*, *Edessa. The Blessed City* (Oxford, 1970), 265-89.

5. Ed. and trans. J. Rougé, SC, CXXIV (Paris, 1966),

156 f.; cf. A. H. M. Jones, "Asian Trade in Antiquity," *The Roman Economy* (Oxford, 1974), 140-50.

6. Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.3.3, ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, 1971), 24 f.

7. John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, PO, XVII (1923), 158 ff., 187 ff.; *ibid.*, XIX (1925), 560 ff., 572. *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), 167, 208 f.

8. John of Ephesus boasts, "all of us . . . came from the well-known monasteries of Amida and we read and wrote with confidence," *Lives*, PO, XVIII (1924), 319. On the role of monasteries in education, see Segal, "Communities," 120 f., 131.

9. *Idem*, *Edessa*, 95, 105; A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO, CCLXVI, Subsidia, 26 (Louvain, 1965).

10. See note 17 below for work done on the Roman *limes*.

11. For work done by Anastasius, see C. Capizzi, "L'imperatore Anastasio I (491-518)," *OCA*, 184 (1969), 216 ff., and for that by Justinian, see Procopius, *Buildings*, II.i-vii; V.ix.31.

11a. Where it was available, e.g., in the sculpture of Nisibis and Amida, he chose to see it in an oriental light. For a

summary of his views, see J. Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art* (Oxford, 1923), 22, 32, 140 f., 167-70 and *passim*.

12. This excavation is largely unpublished. See note 59 below.

13. C. W. McEwan et al. *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah* (Chicago, 1958), 2, 3, 15-18, 21, 46.

14. Dillemann, *Mésopotamie*, 37, 174 f.; M. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar," *Iraq*, 3 (1936), 6.

15. Segal, *Edessa, passim*; *idem*, "Pagan Syriac Monuments in the Vilayet of Urfa," *AnatSt*, 3 (1953), 97 ff.; on the Tektek Mountains, see also Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint (see following note), 148 ff., and *AnatSt*, 7 (1957), 7.

16. C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmal der christlichen und islamischen Zeit* (Leipzig, 1911); F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise in Euphrat-und-Tigris Gebiet* (Berlin, 1911-20); G. Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur 'Abdin. Studies by Gertrude Bell*, ed. M. Mundell-Mango (London, in press) (cited hereafter as Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint) in which, see bibliographical survey, 167 ff. See also M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910) and, recently, F. W. Deichmann and U. Peshlow, *Zwei spätantike Ruinenstätten in Nordmesopotamien* (Munich, 1977).

17. For the limes, see most recently Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* (note 1 above); On city walls, see A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (Paris, 1940); D. van Berchem, "Recherches sur la chronologie des enceintes de Syrie et de Mésopotamie," *Syria*, 31 (1954), 254-70.; D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq* (London, 1968).

18. Great Britain, War Office, Geographical Section General Staff, *Eastern Turkey in Asia* (1:250,000) (1901-23).

19. A few are mentioned by J. G. Taylor, "Journal of a Tour in Armenia, Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia etc.," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 38 (1968), 346 ff.

20. H. Seyrig, "Palmyra and the West," *JRS*, 40 (1950), 1-7.

21. A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura Europos* (Oxford, 1973), 15, fig. 4.

22. H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie et de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), 15, pls. 1-11.

23. E.g., in northern Syria on a tomb at Bamuqqa (G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord*, I-III [Paris, 1953-58], pl. cxci, 3) and on a villa at Kaukanaya (*ibid.*, pl. clviii, 3).

24. J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Roman West and the Parthian East," *ProcBrAc*, 51 (1965), 183.

25. A few are known in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. See E. Will, "La tour funéraire de Palmyre," *Syria*, 26 (1946), 87-116; and *idem*, "La tour funéraire de la Syrie et les monuments apparentés," *ibid.*, 258-312; fig. 12 shows their geographical distribution; the tower tombs at Fafi (see note 35 below) and those of the Tektek Mountains (Segal, *Edessa*, 29) are omitted from these studies.

26. This tower tomb, south of Edessa at Deir Yaqub, has been dated variously from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd A.D. Pognon, *Inscriptions*, 103, pl. v; Will, "Tour de Syrie," 273 and note 2; Segal, *Edessa*, 29; Deichmann and Peschlow, *Ruinenstätten*, 43 f., pls. 17-19. For Sumatar (A.D. 165), see note 15 above.

27. Ward Perkins, "Roman West," 189-93; M. Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1974), 84-96, 193-95; M. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (London, 1977), 28, 67-78. At Dura-Europos, however, Parthian domination resulted in a change to rubble and mud brick masonry; see Perkins, *Dura*, 20. See also Dillemann, *Mésopotamie*, 37.

28. Now in the Urfa Museum.

29. E.g., as in R. Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthians and Sassan-*

ians (London, 1962), nos. 105, 110.

30. These are incised and less symmetrically arranged than at Hatra, and the cloak on the shoulder has fairly deep, realistic folds.

31. See note 27 above.

32. This capital is one of a pair on the Edessa (Urfa) citadel, which may be dated late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D.; see Segal, *Edessa*, 26 f.; on other classical sculptures at Edessa see *ibid.*, 27 ff., pls. 15, 22-24, 26-27. Other objects in the museum from the cemeteries include two reliefs of mourning erotes and a pair of small, spirally fluted columns with wind-blown acanthus capitals (photographs unpublished).

33. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 142, pl. 68.

34. *Ibid.*, 149 ff., pls. 249-56.

35. *Ibid.*, 29, pl. 108 (inscription). On Fafi, see Dillemann, *Mésopotamie*, 230 f.

36. For illustrations of the façades and the scroll, see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprints, pls. 108-11. The inhabited scroll (here acanthus filled with animals hunted by putti) was revived in the early 3rd century and was popular all over the empire. J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *BSR*, 18 (1950), 1-43; see pls. x, xi, xvi, xviii and xxvi, for examples relevant to ours. The lintel decoration at Fafi is more appropriate as tomb sculpture and relates to a popular sarcophagus theme that was disseminated throughout the empire from the quarries of Proconessus. See J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), 202-30, pls. xliii-xlviii, where it is pointed out that the putti become "lanky boys" (as at Fafi) in the 3rd century (214 note 1, pl. xlviii, 2); and Ward Perkins, "Roman West" (note 24 above), 183 note 1, pls. xlix-c-l, pls. xlix-c-l.

37. Tchalenko, *Villages*, I, 184; II, 20; III, pl. ccii, 4.

38. For pavements recently recorded at the site, see J. Wagner, *Seleukia am Euphrat/Zeugma* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 100-105, pls. 22-24. For the large pavement featuring personifications of Roman provinces, Poseidon and a border of masks and hunting putti, found in 1879 and now divided among various collections, see *ibid.*, 86; M. Jatta, *La rappresentanza figurata delle provincie Romane* (Rome, 1908), 4 illus.; L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien*, I (Recklinghausen, 1969), 81 f., pls. 158-65; F. Baratte, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1978), 131 f., fig. 139. A panel portraying reclining figures from another pavement from Zeugma is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

39. Wagner, *Zeugma*, 102.

40. *Ibid.*, 104 f.

41. Baratte, *Catalogue*, 132.

42. The "Phoenix mosaic" dated 235/6; see Segal, *Edessa*, 32, 56, pl. 43.

43. M. von Oppenheim and H. Lucas, "Griechische und lateinische Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien," *BZ*, 14 (1905), 58 ff., pl. iv, figs. 21-22. On the inscription, see J. B. Chabot, *JA* (1906), 287 note 2, and on the style of the mosaic, see D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947), 394 f., 540.

44. This pavement was discovered in 1980 during the construction of an apartment building and was removed to the museum at Gaziantep. The photographs which the director of the Mardin Museum, Bey Abdulhalik Erkmén, kindly showed to me reveal a marine scene, with a Greek inscription, laid out around a central sinking in the floor. Among similar marine pavements at Antioch, that closest in style to the Nisibis example may be in the House of Oceanus and Thetis, which is dated late in the period 235-312; Levi, *Pavements*, 222, pl. lc.

45. *Ibid.*, 540, figs. 154, 203. All Mas'udiye is on the

eastern bank of the Euphrates and can therefore be considered Mesopotamian.

46. A photograph of the pavement *in situ* was published by J. B. Segal in "New Mosaics from Edessa," *Archaeology*, 12 (1957), 157; see also *idem*, Edessa, 51 f., pl. 44.

47. Budde, *Kilikien*, II, pl. 44.

48. One may be dated 176/7; see Segal, *Edessa*, 30 note 5, pl. 14b; for others, see *ibid.*, 27-29, 33 f., 39-41; pls. 1-3, 14a, 17a, 25.

49. For Palmyra, see M. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (London, 1976) and for Dura, see M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura Europos and Its Art* (Oxford, 1938) and Perkins, *Dura* (note 21 above).

50. On the Palmyra pavements, see the following note. The Roman pavements at Dura, found in the baths, are very simple and inscribed in Greek. One has a standard hexagonal pattern which has been transformed into "a gaming board of some sort." See *Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season* (New Haven, 1933), 32 f., 78 no. 180; and *ibid.*, *Sixth Season* (New Haven, 1936), 104 f., pl. xxxix.

51. H. Stern, *Les mosaïques des maisons d'Achille et de Cassiopée à Palmyre* (Paris, 1977), 42.

52. The execution of the tomb pavements there is perfunctory or confused; see references in note 125 below.

53. Ward Perkins, "Roman West," 195 f.

54. *Ibid.*, 196 f.

55. Wagner, *Zeugma*, 101, pl. 24a.

56. Segal, *Edessa*, 27, 39, pl. 2.

57. It is dated by a Greek inscription in its south façade; see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise* (note 16 above), II, 337 f., fig. 314; IV, pl. cxxxviii. The best plan is found in *ibid.*, II, fig. 316. For other illustrations, see Preusser, *Baudenkmäler* (note 16 above), pls. 49-52; and Bell, *Tur Abdin* reprint, pls. 70-83 and bibliography.

58. *Ibid.*, pl. 81.

59. S. Lloyd, *The Illustrated London News*, 222 (21 February 1953), fig. 12; and *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 8 (where they are described as "probably fifth century"). They are now in the Urfa Museum. For work done at Harran, see S. Lloyd and W. Brice, "Harran," *AnatSt*, 1 (1951), 77-111; D. S. Rice, "Medieval Harran," *ibid.*, 2 (1952), 36-83; G. Fehérvári, "Harran," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, III (1971), pp. 227-230; cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd ed. II (Oxford, 1969), 644-49, pl. 139. I would like to thank Dr. G. Fehérvári of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, who now has charge of the excavation material, for his kind help concerning it.

60. Upright not wind-blown, Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture*, 58-60, pl. 61; the later, e.g., on capitals, are classical as well as early Christian, *ibid.*, 261.

61. B. Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus," *JWarb*, 19 (1956), 179-91, pls. 36-38, 39b-e. The fragment published in the present article was photographed on the site of the temple in August 1979. On carved vine scrolls, see also Toynebee and Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls" (note 36 above), 23-26, 28 f., 33 f., 35-38.

62. *AnatSt*, 10 (1960), 8.

63. On the dismantling of St. Sophia, see Segal, *Edessa*, 256, and *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens*, II, trans. A. Abouna, CSCO, CCCLIV, Scriptores Syri, CLIV (Louvain, 1974), p. 128 and note 5 (by J. M. Fiey). The latter source places the event around the death of Nur al Din, and then his son, al Malik al Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl, in 1174. The enlargement of the mosque at Harran was started by Nur al Din before his death in 1174, and presumably completed by Ṣāliḥ al Din; the façade was seen and described by Ibn Jubayr in 1184. See Fehérvári, "Harran."

64. Segal, *Edessa*, 189.

65. On the moldings, see Guyer, "Amida" (note 93 below), figs. 7-8 and Mundell "DZ" (note 93 below), fig. 4 and related text. The capital reused on the great central arch at Harran (Deichmann and Peschlow, *Ruinenstätten* [note 16 above], pl. 23.2), as well as other unpublished examples, have garlands closer in form (having a chainlike quality, with "eggs," not rosettes, at their corners) to those at Rusafa (e.g., Kollwitz, *AA* [1954] [note 100 below], fig. 11) and Amida (Bell, *Tur Abdin* reprint, pls. 9, 20-21), rather than to those at Nisibis (fig. 19 here); the calices at Harran could also be compared with those at Rusafa: e.g., Kollwitz, *AA* (1954), figs. 11-12; *idem*, *AA* (1963), figs. 5-6.

66. Segal, *Edessa*, 181.

67. The nearly complete column (fig. 6) is 3.05 m high. According to the description of St. Sophia given in a Syriac hymn (*ibid.*, 189 f.), "its roof extended . . . without columns"; but the hymn mentions chancel and (perhaps) ciborium columns, as well as those of the exterior porticoes.

68. Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture*, 84-96, 193-95, 229-54.

69. T. Wiegand, *Palmyra*, II (Berlin, 1932), pl. 53c.

70. *Ibid.*, I, fig. 72.

71. K. Michalowski, *Palmyre. Fouilles polonaises 1963 et 1964* (Warsaw, 1966), figs. 142-44, 146. Decorated moldings found there (*ibid.*, figs. 154-57) could also be compared with those at Nisibis.

72. D. Schlumberger, "Etudes sur Palmyre," *Berytus*, 2 (1935), 164 ff., *idem*, "Le prétendu camp de Dioclétien," *MéUSJ*, 38 (1962), 77-98; Michalowski, *Palmyre 1963 et 1964*, 121-27; *idem*, "Les fouilles polonaises à Palmyre," *AArchSyr*, 21 (1971), 137 ff. M. Gawlikowski, "Le Camp de Dioclétien: bilan préliminaire," *Palmyre: bilan et perspectives* (Strasbourg, 1976), 153-63.

73. Those of the tetrapylon, accepted as work of A.D. 27 possibly by sculptors from Mesopotamia; K. Michalowski, *Palmyre. Fouilles polonaises 1960* (Warsaw, 1962), 38-41, figs. 81-82, 84; the author discusses as an unusual feature the leafy helices (figs. 78-85), but not the volutes.

74. D. Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Garbi (1936-1938), rapport préliminaire," *Syria*, 20 (1939), 197 and note 4, pl. xxxiii-2 (above).

75. Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture* (note 27 above), 253 f.

76. Colledge, *Palmyra* (note 49 above), 235-42.

77. *Ibid.*, 238 and note 723; see also note 73 above.

78. Segal, *Edessa*, e.g., pls. 23-24, 26-27.

79. *Ibid.*, pl. 22, which shows leaf-and-dart, an undulating scroll, and bead-and-reel.

80. Now in the Urfa Museum.

81. Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture*, 90 f., fig. 20, pl. 100.

82. Bell, *Tur Abdin*, 142, pl. 68. On other remains at Nisibis, see *ibid.*, 142, pl. 69, and Dillemann, *Mesopotamie* (note 1 above), 190-92, pl. VIII; on which cf. Fiey, *Nisibis* (note 2 above), 120 ff.

83. For the Fafi capitals, see Bell, *Tur Abdin* reprint, pls. 109-10, and for those at Palmyra, see Michalowski, *Palmyre* (1960), figs. 88-92.

84. Schlumberger, "Etudes," 160 f.

85. Colledge, *Palmyra*, 22, 61, 71, 87.

86. W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, I. *Guerre et réformes* (284-300) (Paris, 1946), 171 ff.

87. In fact, the favored trade route had already moved well before A.D. 272 from Palmyra north to Nisibis and Edessa; see J. Starky and S. Munajjed, *Palmyre* (Paris, 1952), 84.

88. XXXV.8.17.

89. Mar Ya'qub at Ṣālah (see note 107 below); for other sites—Dara, Amida, Martyropolis, Deir Za'faran, Kale-i Zazevan, and Rusafa—see Bell, *Tur Abdin* reprint, pls. 5, 15, 39, 188; Deichmann and Peschlow, *Ruinenstätten*, (note 16

above), pls. 8, 10-11; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1974), pl. 36. There are also examples in the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Edessa (photographs unpublished).

90. For Rusafa, see Mango, *Architecture*, pls. 36, 95; those at Constantina/Tella and Mar Abraham monastery are as yet unpublished.

91. At Deir Za'faran, see Mundell, "DZ" (note 93 below), figs. 1, 8. Drinking birds appear in the rinceaux at Salah (fig. 27 here) and Amida (fig. 15 here).

92. Others are at Amida and Dara and can be seen in van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, pl. iv.1 and Mundell, "Dara" (note 96 below), fig. 6. Those at Mar Abraham monastery are not yet published.

93. On this sculpture, see S. Guyer, "Amida," *Repkunstw.* 38 (1916), 193 ff., and M. C. Mundell, "The Sixth Century Sculpture of the Monastery of Deir Za'faran in Mesopotamia," *Actes du XI^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes (1976)* (in press).

94. See B. Brenk, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Berlin, 1977), fig. 245b.

95. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 124, pls. 38-49.

96. M. C. Mundell, "A Sixth Century Funerary Relief at Dara in Mesopotamia," *JÖB*, 24 (1975), 219, figs. 6-7.

97. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 107, pls. 18, 20-21.

98. See note 194 below.

99. See notes 63-67 and relevant text.

100. J. Kollwitz, "Die Grabungen in Resafa," *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1959), 45 ff.; *idem*, *AA*, (1954), 119ff.; *ibid.* (1957), 69ff.; *ibid.* (1963), 328ff.; *ibid.* (1968), 307ff.; W. Karnapp, *ibid.* (1970), 98ff.; T. Ulbert, *ibid.* (1977), 563ff.; W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien* (Berlin, 1976); see also S. Guyer in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise* (note 16 above), II, 1ff.; and H. Spanner and S. Guyer, *Rusafa, die Wallfahrtsstadt des heiligen Sergios* (Berlin, 1926).

101. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 112, pls. 121-122.

102. Mundell, "DZ" (note 93 above).

103. Bead-and-reel, palmettes, fillet, frieze, dentils, egg-and-dart, flutes, bead-and-reel, palmettes. Occasionally another element, such as modillions, is inserted, or something is left out.

104. *Zachariah* (note 7 above), 166.

105. Mundell, "DZ" (note 93 above).

106. F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 65, figs. 35-39. The plaited capitals published by Bell (*Tur 'Abdin* reprint, pls. 66, 67a, 83) also represent a departure based on either Byzantine two-zoned capitals or the basket cornice bosses of Deir Za'faran; see *ibid.*, pls. 194-97.

107. *ibid.*, 147, pls. 232-48.

108. See Bell's discussion of the pilaster sculpture in *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 41 f. She assigns the church to the period before the Arab conquest (*ibid.*, 79) and then reassigns it, together with most of the churches of the area, to the eighth century (*ibid.*, 82 f.). Deichmann and Peschlow (*Ruinenstätten*, 24) consider it to be sixth-century.

109. *ibid.*, 139 and M. Mundell Mango, "Deux églises de Mésopotamie du Nord: Ambar et Mar Abraham de Kashkas," *CahArch*, 30 (in press), figs. 13-16, 18-24. Figure 17.4 here represents a niche archivolt, not that of the apse.

110. *ibid.*, pl. 81.

111. One has been removed to the monastery near Qartamin.

112. Mundell, "DZ" (note 93 above).

113. Although there is evidence of influences both ways between northern Mesopotamia and Syria; see note 174 below. For the great variety in Syrian sculpture see C. Strube, "Baudekoration in den Kirchen des nordsyrischen Kalkstein-

massivs," *AA* (1978), 575-601.

114. An outstanding exception to generalizations about northern Mesopotamia is the second church at Martyropolis, that of the Virgin, which, like the basilica there, is now destroyed; see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 126 ff., pls. 54-66. This church, which requires further study, was probably built sometime after the creation of the province of Armenia IV in 536 (see note 2 above) and displays more outside influences in its ornamentation than do other northern Mesopotamian monuments. If it is late 6th century, its decoration offers an extreme contrast to that of Mar Abraham (A.D. 571) and the two later buildings at Rusafa (559 and 569-581).

115. *ibid.*, 124. This church is similar to late 4th and early 5th century basilicas in its dimensions and in particular in those of its nave (38.65 x 25.75 m), which are extremely close to those of the nave of the martyrion basilica of Dibsi Faraj (38.50 x 23.75 m) dated 429; R. Harper, "Excavations at Dibsi Faraj, Northern Syria, 1972-74: A Preliminary Note on the Site and Its Monuments," *DOP*, 29 (1975), 333.

116. W. E. Kleinbauer, "The Origin and Functions of the Aided Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 91-114.

117. On this type of church, see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 56, and, e.g., fig. 25.

118. This is apparent from the similarities in building techniques and decoration noted between the two sites; see Mundell Mango, "Deux églises" (note 109 above).

119. By the 8th century it is found in cities also, as is attested by the church added onto the north side of the Nisibis baptistry in 713-758. On this type of church, see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 56, and, e.g., fig. 29.

120. Mundell-Mango in *ibid.*, viii f. Cf. Deichmann and Peschlow, "Ruinenstätten," 17 ff. and Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 45.

121. On these, see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, p. x.

122. Although the dome-on-squinch plan of St. Sophia, Edessa (after 525), used also in the contemporary church of St. Sergius, Gaza (before 536), is of oriental rather than classical derivation, it became a standard church type in both East and West.

123. For the Edessa pavements, see Segal, *Edessa*, pls. 17b-20, esp. 18; for that at Mopsuestia: Budde, *Kilikien*, I (note 38 above), pl. 86; E. Kitzinger, "Observations on the Samson Floor at Mopsuestia," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 138 and notes 18, 52.

124. H. Candemir and J. Wagner, "Christliche Mosaiken in der nördlichen Euphratesia," *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner*, ed. S. Sahin, F. Schwertheim, and J. Wagner (Leiden, 1978), 205 ff., fig. 1, pl. 7. This site is 30 km northwest of Zeugma (Balkis); see H. Hellenkemper, "Kirchen und Klöster in der nördlichen Euphratesia," *ibid.*, 407, fig. 1.

125. This pavement was found in a tomb north of the city. Of the composition in the central field only part of a wing and a hand holding a staff survived. See Segal, *Edessa*, 32, 51, plan II, pls. 17b-20. Segal has proposed Zeus and his eagle or Ganymede as the main subject. It is difficult from the remains to counterpropose a Christian theme in keeping with the 4th to 5th century date suggested above on stylistic grounds for the border. Few tomb pavements have been recovered in Syria to offer comparisons of iconography. At Antioch, in addition to abstract patterns (*Levi, Pavements*, 291, pl. cxx d-e) there is a personification of Amerinnia ("Freedom from Care") (c. 300) (*ibid.*, 225 f., pl. LI d) and a funerary banquet (c. 400) (*ibid.*, 295-304, pls. LXVI-LXVII a-c, CLXVI).

126. Attributed to the late 5th century, Harper, "Dibsi Faraj," 332 f., fig. 10b.

127. As in the House of the Buffet Supper (425) at Antioch and later, used both as an independent pattern (Levi, *Pavements*, 436-53, fig. 167, pls. LXXXIV, XCI, CCXVI a, CXXXVIII d-f, CXL d, CXLI b-c), and with figural compositions (*ibid.*, pls. LXXXIII c, LXXXV a, LXXXVI, LXXXVII-LIX).

128. As described *ibid.*, 593 ff., pls. LXXIV, LXXXVII.

129. Now on display in the museum.

130. These are large compositions dates 429, 452/3, 469, 473 and 483-85. See C. Dulière, *Mosaïques des portiques de la Grande Colonnade* (Brussels, 1974); Harper, "Dibsi Faraj," 329 (and 332 note 9), fig. 7b; and M.-T. Canivet and P. Canivet, "L'Ensemble ecclésiastique de Hūrta d'Apamène (Syrie) (Campagnes de 1973-1976)," *Syria*, 56 (1979), figs. 10-11, 14, 18. There are related but smaller compositions dated 578; see Baratte, *Catalogue* (note 38 above), 138, fig. 141.

131. At Hirbet Muqa dated 394/5 (J. C. Balty and others, *Mosaïques de l'église de Herbet Muqa* [Brussels, 1969], 23 ff., pls. I, iv 2) and at Antioch dated 387 (a variant, Levi, *Pavements*, pls. cxiv b) and also attributed to the 4th and 5th centuries (*ibid.*, pls. LXX a, CX c, CXXIII a-b, CXXX c).

132. E.g., *ibid.*, pls. LXXIV a, XCII a, CXX d, CXXV b, CXXVI a-b, d, CXXVII, CXXVIII, CXXXI b, d, CXXXIII c.

133. McEwan, *Soundings* (note 13 above), 3, pl. 16 B.

134. The Dara pavement is unpublished. For comments on *opus sectile* pavements in general, see A. H. S. Megaw, "Interior Decoration in Early Christian Cyprus," *Rapports et Co-rapports, XI^e Congrès International d'études byzantines* (Athens, 1976), 4-9.

135. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III. *The Excavations 1937-39*, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton, 1941), 8 I, 256.

136. E. J. W. Hawkins and M. C. Mundell, "The Mosaics of the Monastery of Mār Samuel, Mār Simeon, and Mār Gabriel near Kartmin," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 282, 292, figs. 47-49.

137. J. Napoleone-Lemaire and J. Balty, *L'Église à atrium de la Grande Colonnade* (Brussels, 1969), pls. xxvi 2, xxvii.

138. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 58.

139. Van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, fig. 90.

140. Hawkins and Mundell, "Mosaics," 282, 291; see the far left side of fig. 47 and the center of fig. 48.

141. *Ibid.*, 283 ff.

142. E.g., *ibid.*, 293 f.; Mundell, "Monophysite Church Decoration," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 59-74; Cf. S. Brock, "Iconoclasm and the Monophysites," *ibid.*, 53-58.

143. Mango, *Art*, 58.

144. The pitting for the plaster bed (see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 83) extends, however, down into the area which was apparently revetted with marble.

145. Mundell, "Decoration," 65 f., fig. 9.

146. For Dara, see note 96 above. For Mar Abraham, see Mundell Mango, "Deux églises" (note 109 above), figs., 13-16, 18-24.

147. Mundell, "Decoration," 65 f., fig. 10; Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, note 69, pp. 14, 19, 101, 132.

148. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922), lxxxvi-cxii.

149. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* III (Oxford, 1964), 834.

150. The evidence supporting this statement has been gathered and discussed in my dissertation on "Artistic Patronage in the Roman Diocese of Oriens 312-634," soon to be completed at Oxford University.

151. E.g., Dara gave 1000 pounds of silver to Chosroes I in 540; see preceding note.

152. S. Brock, "The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin," *OKS*, 28 (1979), 175.

153. On this group of perhaps thirty to forty censors, decorated with New Testament scenes, see most recently F. W. Hamilton, "Thuribles: Ancient or Modern?" *Iraq*, 36 (1974), 53 ff. One of these bears a modern Arabic inscription mentioning Mardin; *ibid.*, 63; two are inscribed in Syriac (one mentioning Samosata), *ibid.*, 64; and two of the censors are from Midyat in the Tur 'Abdin, *ibid.*, 53 note 3, 55 no. 19.

154. No. 852; N. Firatli, *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art In the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1955), 50, pls. 15, 37; Deichmann and Peschlow, *Ruinenstätten*, 39 f.

155. For a general discussion of these inscriptions, see K. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross at Sinai," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 391-98, esp. 394 f.

156. The bucket closest to the Mesopotamian one in details of ornament is that in Madrid. For a recent discussion of the group, see A. Caradini, "La Secchia Doria: Una 'Storia di Achille' Tardo-antica," *Studi Miscellanei*, 9 (1964), 28 f., where our bucket is attributed to 450-550.

157. Deichmann and Peschlow, *Ruinenstätten*, 39 f.

158. At Ergani, Karabek, and Keydak, see P. S. de Jesus, *The Development of Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in Anatolia*, I, (Oxford, 1980), 104; II, 259 f., nos. 121-123, map 8.

159. Taylor, "Journal" (note 19 above), 356.

160. *Expositio*, ed Rougé (note 5 above), p. 238.

161. These colophons have been collected and commented upon as part of the doctoral thesis mentioned in note 150 above.

162. From various villages and monasteries including some near Homs and Apamea, see preceding note.

163. And for the Nestorian monastery of Beth 'Abhe, E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Marga AD 840* (London, 1893), L ff.

164. On Nisibis, see F. Nau, "L'Araméen chrétien (syriaque). Les traductions faites du grec en syriaque au VII^e siècle," *RHR* (1929), 232-87.

165. The primary evidence is that offered by the letters exchanged in A.D. 567-568 between Monophysite abbots and bishops; see M. Mundell Mango, "Where was Beth Zagba?" in *Okeanos. A Tribute to Ihor Ševčenko* (forthcoming). For the letters, see most recently A. Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages* (note 23 above), 63 ff.

166. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris, 1964), 208-18, pls. 43-48.

167. *Ibid.*, 198-206, pls. 35-41.

168. *Ibid.*, 128, 130, 207 f., pls. 18.1, 42.

169. K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (London, 1977), 21 f.

170. A. von Premerstein, K. Wessely, and J. Mantuani, *Dioscorides, Codex Aniciae Juliana picturis illustratus* (Leiden, 1906), fols. 474^v-476^r, 477^v-479^r, 480^v, 482^v, 483^r.

171. Leroy, *Manuscripts*, 208, where it is noted for fol. 8^r, "Pharaoh on his throne." The backgrounds to all the prophets were also gilded, traces of which are visible through a magnifying glass.

172. *List of Peshitta Old Testament Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1961), 37, and *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, IV, 6 (Leiden, 1972), iv. I should like to thank Dr. S. Brock for this information.

173. Leroy, *Manuscripts*, 212.

174. Tchalenko, *Villages*, I, 231 f., 266; Mundell, "DZ" (note 93 above).

175. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, p. ix.

176. *Ibid.*, pls. 133, 135-40, 143-45. On stylistic grounds it is clear that this and the four following monuments are nearly contemporary and they are provisionally dated here with reference to Mar Symeon at Habsenas (700-734) (see

ibid., 110), which is probably the latest of the group (see also note 177). Cf. *ibid.*, 82 f.

177. *Ibid.*, 99, 110, 120, 131, pls. 101-4, 159-63, 185-87. No photographs of Mar Symeon at Habsenas have been published.

178. *Ibid.*, pls. 143-44.

179. *Ibid.*, 115, 117, 118, pl. 151.

180. *Ibid.*, 82 f.

181. On Mshatta, see Creswell, *Architecture* (note 59 above), II, 578-606, 614-48, pls. 112-36.

182. *Ibid.*, pls. 121-24, 127-29.

183. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, pls. 101-3, 139-45, 160-61, 186.

184. *Ibid.*, pl. 103.

185. Creswell, *Architecture*, pls. 123, 138. On et-Ṭuba in general, see *ibid.*, 607-48, pls. 137-38.

186. P. Mousterde, "Inscriptions en syriaque dialectal à Kamed (Beqà)," *MéUSJ*, 22 (1939), 73-106.

187. Creswell, *Architecture*, 478-81, pls. 78 A-C.

188. J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, I (Vienna, 1918), 373 ff., 445 ff.

189. W. E. Kleinbauer, "Zvart'nots and the Origins of Christian Architecture in Armenia," *ArtB*, 54 (1972), 256-62; *idem*, "Tradition and Innovation in the Design of Zvart'notz," *II International Symposium on Armenian Art* (Erevan,

1978), 10 ff.

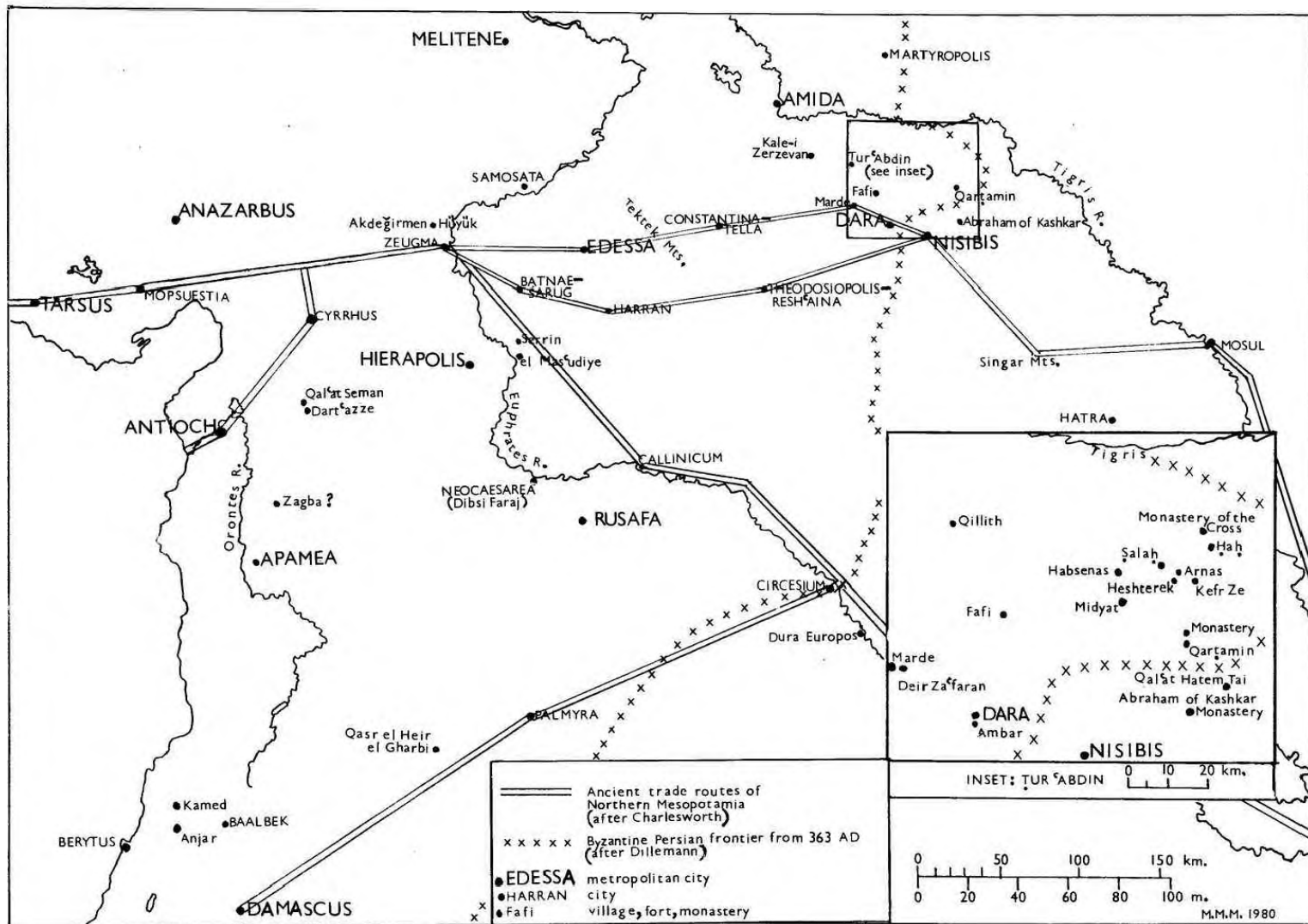
190. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin*, reprint, 155, fig. 58 and pls. 89-96.

191. On which, see most recently Kleinbauer, *ArtB* (1972), 245 ff. and *idem*, "Design."

192. Zvart'noc' has an inner diameter of 33.73 m (*idem*, *ArtB* [1972], 254) and that of Viranşehir is 32 m east to west and 34.50 m north to south (see Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 155). Both buildings have a circular exterior with three projecting porches and a projecting sanctuary, and apparently had barrel-vaulted ambulatories. In addition to the sculpture at Zvart'noc' already linked to other northern Mesopotamian sculpture (Kleinbauer, "Design," 11 f.), one could relate capitals decorated with split palmettes (Stryzowski, *Baukunst*, I, fig. 115 center) with mullion capitals still lying in the "octagon" at Viranşehir (unpublished photograph).

193. Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* reprint, 157, where it is suggested by the present writer that the church may have been built when the relics of Jacob Baradaeus, the founder of the Jacobite church, were returned to Constantina/Tella, his native city, in 622.

194. Van Berchem and Stryzowski, *Amida*, 43-69, 136-63, 207-18, 298-334, figs. 23-25, 57-59, pls. VIII-XVI, XX; Gabriel, *Voyages* (note 17 above), 190-94; M. Rogers, "A Renaissance of Classical Antiquity in North Syria (11th-12th Centuries)," *AArchArSy*, 21 (1971), 347-56.



1. Northern Mesopotamia and Surrounding Area



2. Zeugma, Pavement, Hunting Putto



4. Harran, Great Mosque, Capital



3. Fafi, Tower, Lintel. A.D. Third Century

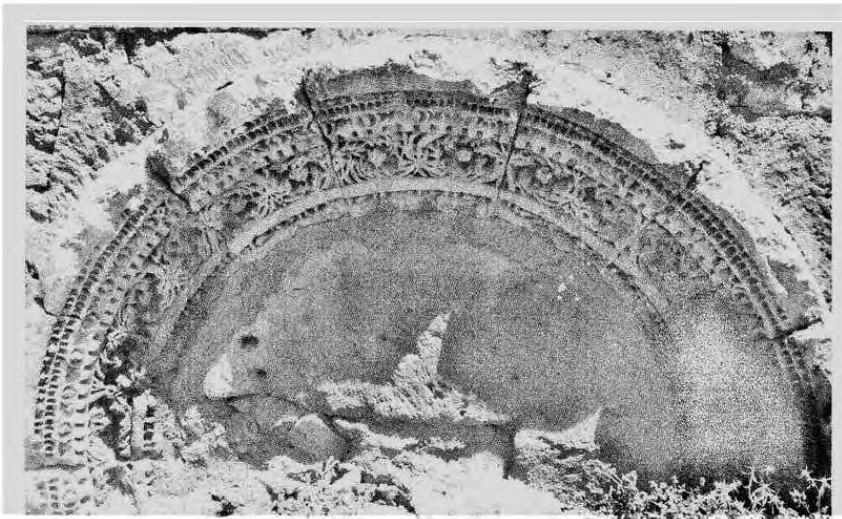


5. Cyzicus, Temple of Hadrian, Column Fragment. A.D. 123-129

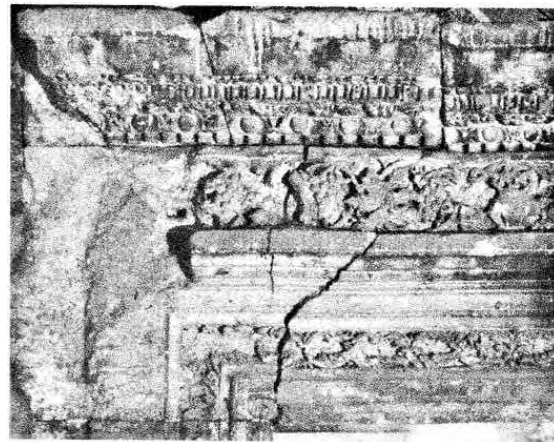


7. Heliaramia (Qasr el Heir el Gharbi),
Door Jamb. C. A.D. 297 (?)

6. Harran, Great Mosque, Column. Possibly
from Cathedral of Edessa. A.D. 313-323. Detail of Cross



8. Nisibis, Cathedral Baptistery, South Façade. A.D. 359



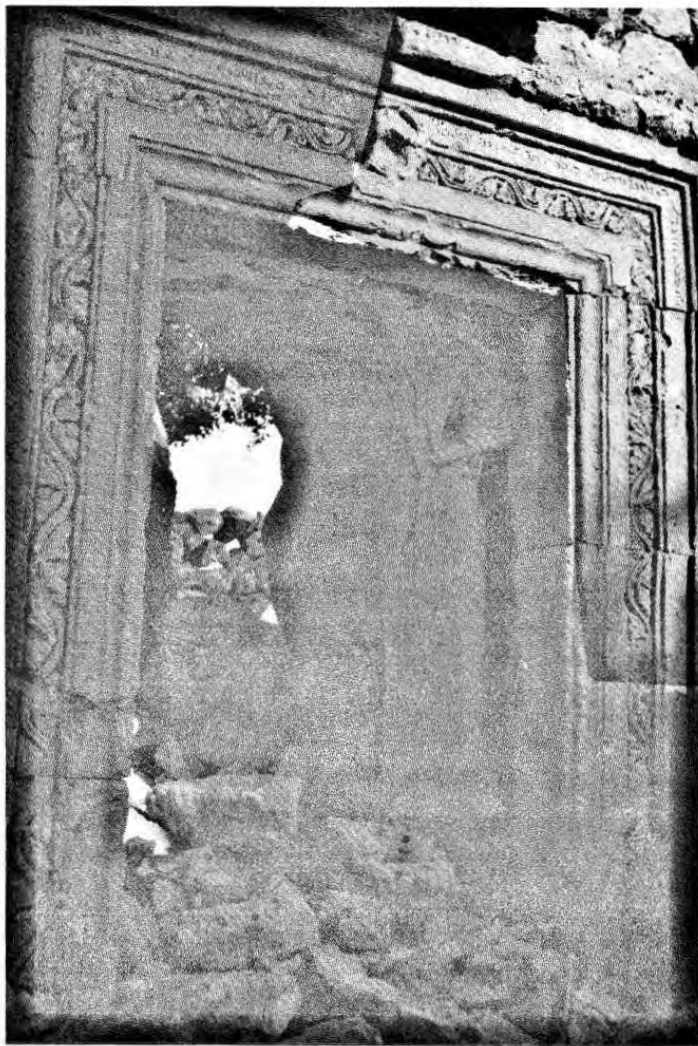
9. Nisibis, Cathedral Baptistery,
Former North Façade. A.D. 359



10. Şalah, Mar Ya'qub Church, Pilaster. A.D. Sixth Century (?)



11. Deir Za'faran, Church, Southwest Corner. A.D. 520-530 (?)



12. Hah, Theotokos Church, Door. A.D. 740



13. Ḥah, Mary Magdalen Church, Reused Door Lintel. C. A.D. 740

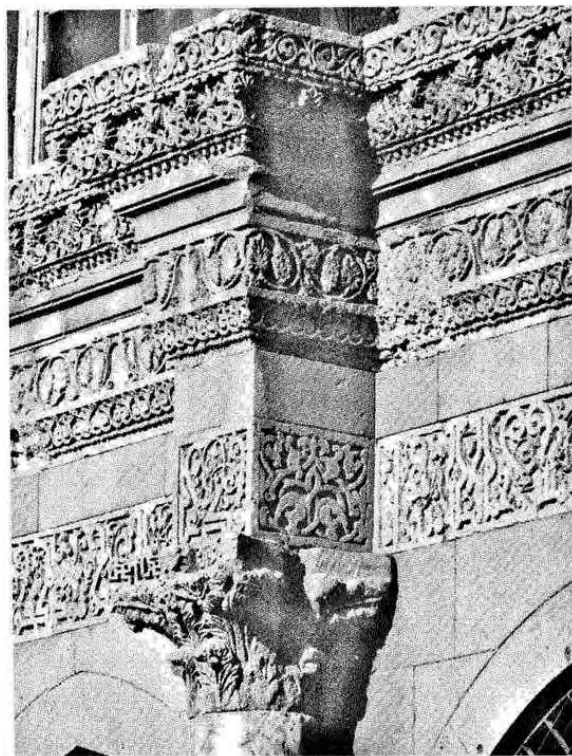


14. Harran, Great Mosque, Voussoir. C. A.D. 1174–1183



15. West Façade. Fifth–Seventh Century. Reused A.D. 1116/17–1124/25

Amida, Great Mosque, Courtyard



16. East Façade. A.D. 1163/64



1. 297, Palmyra, Temple of the Standards



2. 359, Nisibis, Baptistery



3. Sixth Century, Salah, Mar Ya'qub Church



4. 571, Monastery of Abraham of Kashkar, Church



5. 505-518, Dara



6. C a. 520, Rusafa, Tetraconch Church



7. Fifth-Seventh Century, Amida, Great Mosque, West Court Façade



8. Seventh Century, Arnas, Mar Kyriakos Church



9. Seventh Century, Kefr Ze, Mar 'Azaziel Church



10. 700-734, Habsenas, Mar Symeon Church



11. 1163/4, Amida, Great Mosque, East Court Façade



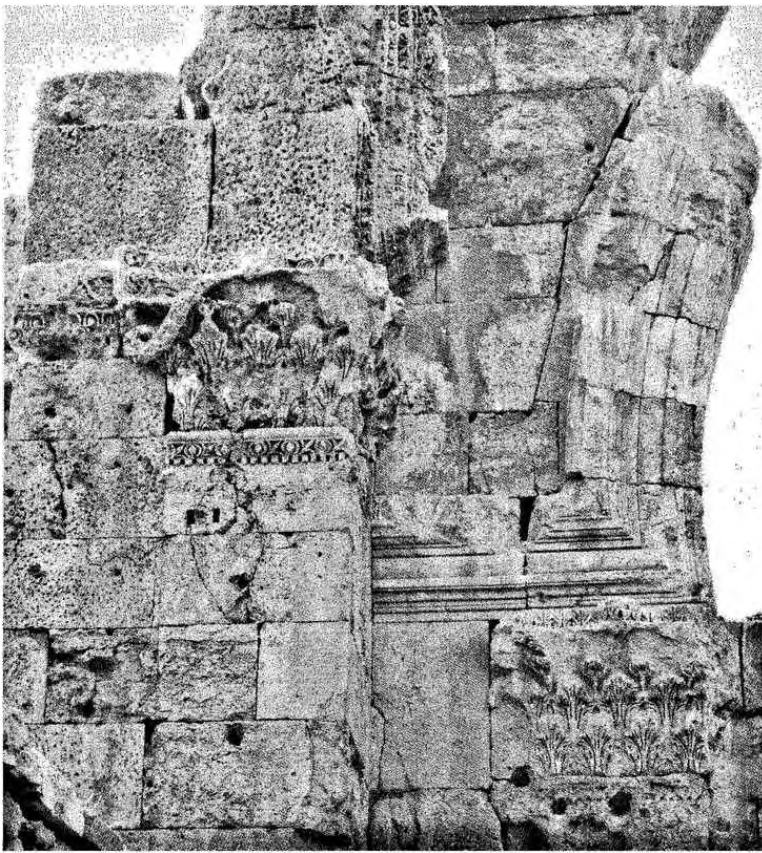
12. 1183, Harran, Great Mosque



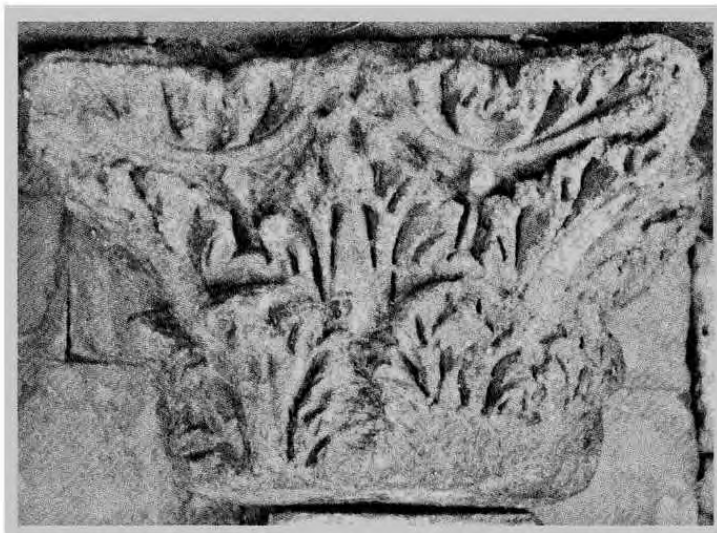
18. Edessa, Citadel, Capital. A.D. Second Century



19. Nisibis, Cathedral Baptistery, Capital. A.D. 359



20. Martyropolis, Cathedral (?), Apse, South Side. A.D. 410–420



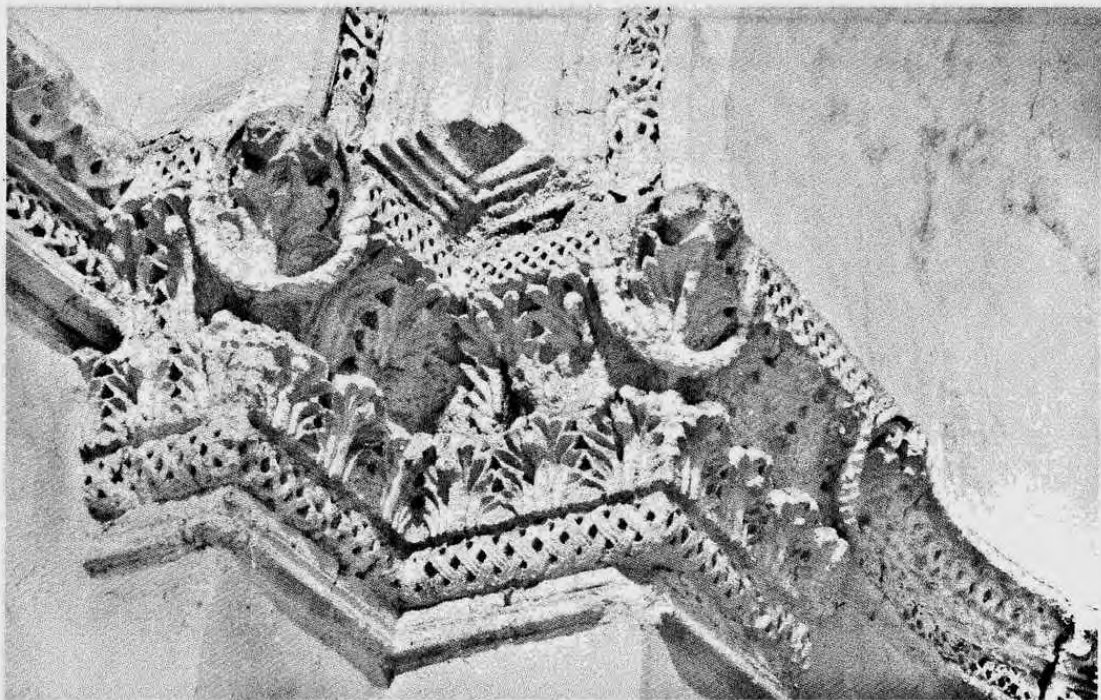
21. Dara, Cathedral (?), Loose Capital. A.D. 505–518



22. Dara, Loose Capital. A.D. 505-507



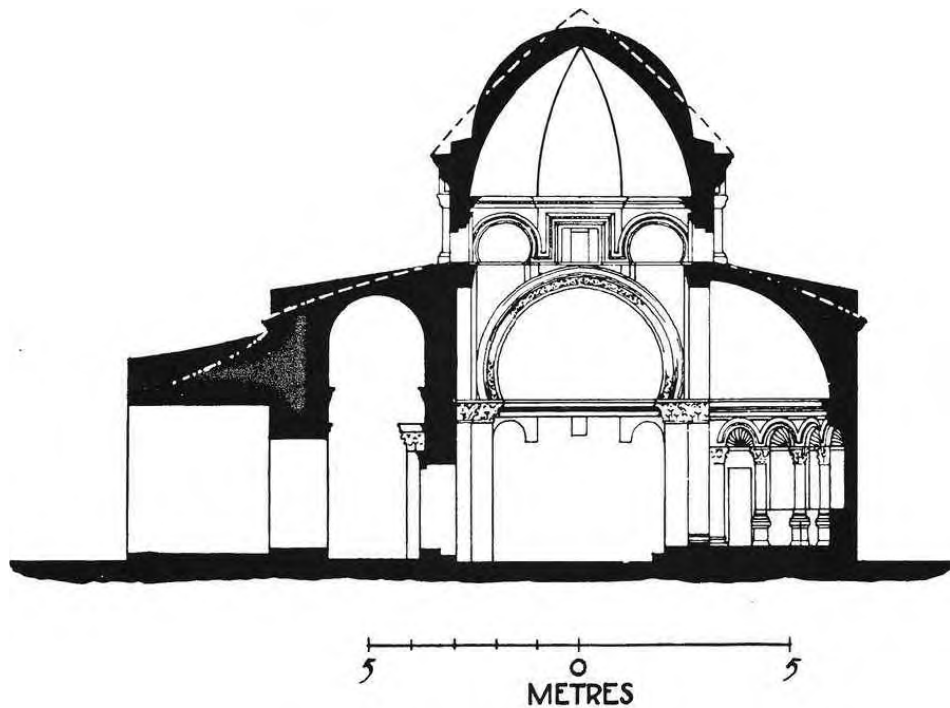
23. Monastery of Abraham of Kashkar, Church, Capital. A.D. 571



24. Ḥah, Church of the Virgin, Capitals. A.D. Mid to Late Seventh Century (?)



25. ʿAnjar, Capital. A.D. 714



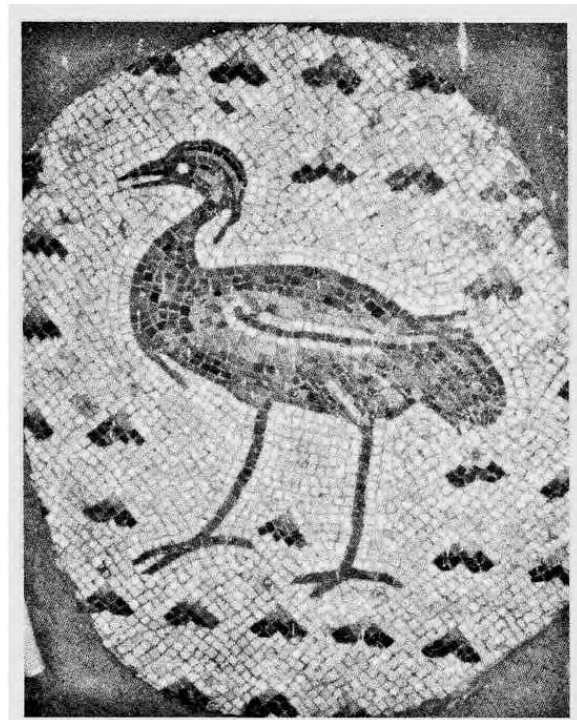
26. Ḥaḥ, Church of the Virgin. Section from West to East



27. Ṣalah, Mar Ya'qub Church, Door to Sanctuary.
A.D. Sixth Century (?)



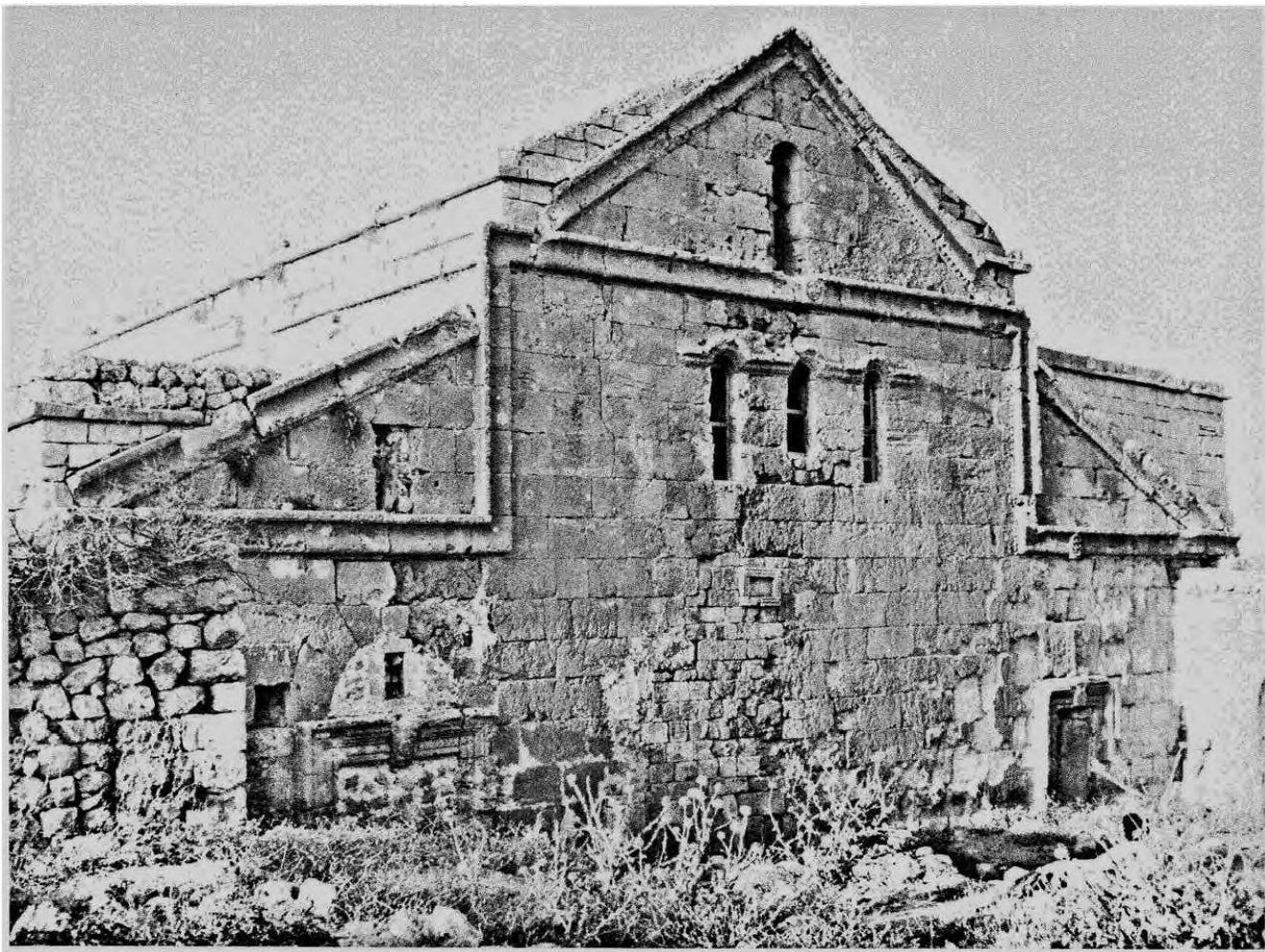
28. Ḥaḥ, Mary Magdalen Church, Arcade. C. A.D. 740



29. Edessa, Pavement Fragment



30. Near Qarāmin, Monastery, Church. Mosaic A.D. 512



31. Şalah, Mar Ya'qub Church, South Façade. A.D. Sixth Century (?)